2: Schaden--13 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented upon. [101] I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóra, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 167 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last [773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the • [787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a [361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

12 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

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[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized gover-
[64] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
[199] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations already built being given to them. In a few years everything was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
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• 787
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1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbaír. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

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sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahẽi by mborahẽi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

• [787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar divinity, [624] also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"), [184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

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774 many other regions of the globe (3).
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3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

842 According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already
[178] admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old
833 belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykey." But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykey wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
842 child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream,
787 tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When
[774] the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is
[776] because the ayvú(kuié) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykey to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
842 the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure
846 of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bi-
611 linear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

611 4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In
171 spite of the different impression gained by the

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reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

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Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
• 787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
224 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

2: Schaden--140 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/113 cont./

775 774 842 [796] [787] [756] [776]

without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not reincarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to various djeroký (religious dances) being performed to this end, weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the ñanderú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of Tupãý (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the ñanderú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Nandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

/117 cont./

775 828 177 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires of Itariri, who, although profesing the religion of his ancestors, has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation: they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvutsú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the 774 178 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the [828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit"; bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits (yvyráídja) to their protected [787] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

/122 cont./

782 796 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help of his wife and children.

782 182 [796] [424] [787] Like so many things in Guaraní culture, the porahêi is an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies, from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each individual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable porahêi, received personally in a dream from some protector spirit. This among the Ñandéva and the Mbüá. The Kayová, [184] [424] [787] to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, particularly on the part of the paí.

Each porahêi consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences. [786] During the porahêi the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 424 114 The most precious possessions of an individual are his porahêi, which are referred to with pride and even with some reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the researcher encounters when he asks that the Guaraní teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Araribá one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared; he made use of the Guaraní prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

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782 778 621 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious sentiment developed by it; a prayer may "come" more or less "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Araribá, on the religious behavior of the fellow tribesmen. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, reacting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "nationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies perfc med in the village. The porahêi is also identified, at least among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. Finally, there are many representations bound up with the porahêi, which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 778 [775] [787]

The individual porahêi, as the Ñandéva and Mbüá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The Ñanderú Fernando of Jacareí maintained to me that Ñanderú reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Koarahy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. Those prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious feasts directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for the Mbüá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayer. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dream," he rises, takes the /124/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the takuá.

782 787 [776] [184] [424] [554] [184]

/125 cont./

782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
126 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
787 It is easy to see that the porahêi is taken both as force and as
[424] substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house; it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahêi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
78 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
177 doctrines themselves.

2: Schaden--174 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S144 Guaraní S144

/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the [163] doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 782 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called oñeñgupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication. [184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large [187] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kúy, or [176] of the solar god Paí Kuaráry. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kúy once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 795 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not necessarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 773 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

/144 cont./

771 evident and absolutely indispensable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very dif-
ferent attitude. Poyájú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1952 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Poyájú, Poyájú's son, /145/ had not yet received his passport;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious cere-
monies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbyá: during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Kurití and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/146 cont./

[177] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," [775] which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

/147 cont./

771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medici-
177 nal, or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
• 787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

534 /153 cont./
1171 Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

534 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimbý,
[322] a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of arasá rapó (root
[824] of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

[782] In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with
[789] any exactness the purpose for which it is intended; they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá í. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one
[824] against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

2: Schaden--199 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/156 cont./

538 179 181 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folklore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto" /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

• 787 825 [171] In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal) ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-

[753] [761] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house, it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all

825 787 793 hours.' -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

2: Schaden--200 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/157 cont./

825 787 793

the solar hero gave each animal the task that would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock: "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

787 177

A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folklore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers.

789 177 824

Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

/162 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the zenith.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandeçy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandeçy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[824] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
[784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
[797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
•[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he